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NEW FACTS ABOUT GEORGE TURBERVILLE

I

In the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) Puttenham praises George Turberville thus:

In her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne seruantes, who haue written excellently well . . . of which number is first that noble Gentleman *Edward Earle of Oxford*. *Thomas Lord of Bukhurst*, . . . *Henry Lord Paget*, *Sir Philip Sydney*, *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, *Master Edward Dyar*, *Maister Fulke Greuell*, *Gascon*, *Britton*, *Turberuille* and a great many other learned Gentlemen.¹

In Book III, chap. xxii, Puttenham remarks:

The historiographer that should by such wordes report of these two kings [Henry VIII and Philip] gestes in that behalfe, should greatly blemish the honour of their doings and almost speake vntruly and iniuriously by way of abbasement, as another of our bad rymers that very indecently said.

A misers mynde thou hast, thou hast a Princes pelfe.

A lewd terme to be giuen to a Princes treasure (*pelfe*). . . . These and such other base wordes do greatly disgrace the thing and the speaker or writer.²

The phrase greatly provoked him, for in the following chapter he takes occasion to say: "Another of our vulgar makers, spake as illfaringly in this verse written to the dispraise of a rich man and couetous. Thou hast a misers minde (thou hast a princes pelfe) a

¹ Arber's reprint, p. 75 (Book I, chap. xxxi).

² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

lewde terme to be spoken of a princes treasure, which in no respect nor for any cause is to be called pelfe, though it were neuer so meane."¹

Koeppel was the first, I think, to point out that Puttenham had quoted Turbervile's² lines, "Of a ritch Miser." They are:

A MISERS minde thou hast
thou hast a princes pelfe;
Which makes thee welthy to thine heire,
a beggar to thy selfe.

Koeppel³ naturally concluded that Puttenham had here nullified his former praise of Turbervile, and Seccombe, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, follows him by remarking that after Puttenham had praised Turbervile he then called him a "bad rhymers." This would have been an extraordinary proceeding, and the truth is that Puttenham had probably never read the lines in Turbervile's *Epitaphes*, but, by the phrases "another of our bad rymers" and "another of our vulgar makers," intended to condemn Timothy Kendall, a writer both bad and vulgar, who in his *Flowers of Epigrammes, out of sundrie the moste singular authours selected, as well auncient as late writers* (1577) prints these verses verbatim, without acknowledgment to Turbervile, as being translated "out of Greek."

Kendall's plagiarisms are almost unbelievably impudent. Various writers have already pointed out the appearance of verses by Turbervile in the *Flowers of Epigrammes* (Seccombe himself does so), but I doubt whether the extent of Kendall's plagiarisms has been realized. In the following list, which includes all the important borrowings, Kendall's epigram is first named, its equivalent in Turbervile's *Epitaphes* is then given, and Kendall's method of treating the stolen verses is briefly indicated:⁴

EPIGRAMS SAID BY KENDALL TO BE TRANSLATED FROM AUSONIUS

1. Kendall's "To one that painted Eccho" (p. 116) = Turbervile's "To one that painted Eccho" (p. 177). Almost verbatim.

¹ Arber's reprint, p. 281. Gregory Smith (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 421) referring to the lines quoted by Puttenham remarks: "This may be Heywood's: but I have failed to find it."

² In his *Epitaphes, Epigrams*, etc., J. P. Collier's reprint, p. 214.

³ "George Turbervile's Verhältniss zur italienischen Litteratur," *Anglia*, N.F., XIII, 70-71.

⁴ The page references are to the Spenser Society's reprint (1874) of the *Flowers of Epigrammes* and to Collier's reprint (1870 ?) of the *Epitaphes*.

2. "Of a Hare taken by a Dog-fishe" (p. 117) = "Of a Hare complayning of the hatred of Dogs" (p. 177). Verbatim.

3. "The same otherwise" (i.e., "Of Venus in armour," p. 120) = "Of Venus in Armour" (p. 176). Verbatim. By a typographical error Turberville's lines begin "In complete Pallas saw," instead of "In complete armour Pallas saw," and Kendall did not correct the error!

4. "Of the picture of Rufus a vaine Rhethoritian, of whom there is an Epigram before" (p. 120 [he refers to an epigram on p. 115, "Of the Picture of Rufus, a vaine Rhethorician," which he also gives under Ausonius, but which was no doubt suggested by Turberville]) = "Of the picture of a vaine Rhetorician" (p. 151). Verbatim. Kendall gives two further epigrams on Rufus immediately after this, each of which is dreadfully stupid; both, I feel sure, were suggested entirely by Turberville's epigram.

EPIGRAMS SAID BY KENDALL TO BE TRANSLATED "OUT OF GREEK"

5. "Of a Thracian lad" (p. 137) = "Of a Thracyan that was drownde by playing on the Ise" (p. 195). Kendall has "that swam" and "bare" for Turberville's "it swam" and "bore"; otherwise he quotes verbatim.

6. "Fayned frendship" (p. 139) = "Of an open Foe and a fayned Friend" (p. 213). Kendall borrows the first four lines almost verbatim; Turberville's epigram has four other lines, for which Kendall substitutes eight, and these eight paraphrase, not only the four omitted lines, but also another epigram by Turberville on the same subject ("Againe") that immediately follows on p. 214.

7. "Against stepdames" (p. 140) = "Of the cruell hatred of Stepmothers" (p. 189). A close paraphrase; cf. No. 16, below.

8. "A controuersie betwene Fortune and Venus" (p. 140) = "A Controversie of a conquest in Love twixt Fortune and Venus" (p. 110). Verbatim. Kendall has another epigram on this subject immediately preceding the foregoing (p. 140), suggested by, and a paraphrase of, Turberville's lines.

9. "To one, hauyng a long nose" (p. 144) = "Of one that had a great Nose" (p. 149). Turberville's first two lines, "Stande with thy nose against/ the sunne with open chaps," Kendall renders as "Stand with thy snoute against the sunne,/ and open wide thy chaps"; he quotes the other two lines verbatim.

10. "Of a deaf Iudge, a deaf plaintife, and a deaf defendant" (p. 144) = "Of a deafe Plaintife, a deafe Defendant, and a deafe Judge" (p. 132). Turberville's first sixteen lines are borrowed almost verbatim; for his last twelve Kendall substituted two of his own, which make the epigram (so-called) pointless and the title senseless.

11. "Against one very deformed" (p. 145) = "Of a marvellous deformed man" (p. 152). A close paraphrase.

12. "Otherwise [of drunkennesse]" (p. 146) = "Of Dronkennesse" (p. 151). Verbatim.

13. "Againe of the same [dronkennesse]" (p. 147) = "Againe of Dronkennesse" (p. 151). Verbatim.

14. "Of a rich miser" (p. 147) = "Of a ritch Miser" (p. 214). Verbatim. This is the bad rhyme condemned (and quite justly) by Puttenham.

15. "Of Asclepiades, a greedie carle" (p. 148) = "Of a covetous Niggard, and a needie Mouse" (p. 128). Verbatim, but Kendall omits Turberville's last four lines.

EPIGRAM SAID BY KENDALL TO BE TRANSLATED FROM THEODORUS
BEZA VEZELIUS

16. "Against stepdames" (p. 164) = "Againe [of the cruell hatred of Stepmothers]" (p. 189). Paraphrased; cf. No. 7, above.

Turberville was the greatest sufferer at the hands of this "vulgar maker," who also, however, plagiarized from Sir Thomas Elyot, Grimald, and the Earl of Surrey.¹

II

Turberville's works have never been given in correct order, though to do so requires little more than an attentive reading of his poems and prefaces. And this order must be established before any biographical sketch of the poet can hope to be accurate. Among the poems prefixed to his *Tragical Tales*, the extant edition of which is dated 1587, is one entitled "The Authour here declareth the cause why hee wrote these Histories, and forewent the translation of the learned Poet Lucan." In this we are told that Melpomene appeared to the poet, rebuked him for his attempt to translate Lucan, and advised him to follow her sister Clio only; for

Shee deales in case of liking loue,

her lute is set but lowe:

And thou wert wonte in such deuise,

thine humour to bestow.

1 As when thou toldest the Shepheards tale
that Mantuan erst had pend:

2 And turndst those letters into verse,
that louing Dames did send

Vnto their lingring mates, that fought
at sacke and siege of Troy:

¹ Cf. *England's Parnassus*, ed. C. Crawford, Oxford, 1913, p. 485.

- 3 And as thou didst in writing of
thy Songs of sugred ioy.
- 4 Mancynus vertues fitter are,
for thee to take in hande,
Than glitering gleaues, and wreakfull warres,
that all on slaughter stand.

According to this list, then, before the *Tragical Tales* appeared Turberville had already written four works, whose titles in extant copies run:

1. *The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan*, Turned into English Verse, & set forth with the Argument to euery Egloge by George Turberville Gent. Anno. 1567. . . . Imprinted at London in Pater noster Rowe, at the signe of the Marmayde, by Henrie Bynneman.

2. *The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ouidius Naso*, In Englishe Verse: set out and translated by George Turberuile Gent. With Aulus Sabinus Aunsweres to certaine of the same. Anno Domini 1567. Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham.

3. *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, with a Discourse of the Friendly affections of Tymetes to Pyndara his Ladie. Newly corrected, with additions, and set out by George Turberuile, Gentleman. Anno Domini 1567. Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham.

4. *The Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue*: Deuised and found out by Mancinus a Latin Poet, and translated into English by G. Turberville Gentleman. . . . Imprinted at London in Knight-rider streate, by Henry Bynneman, for Leonard Maylard. Anno 1568. [Title from Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 1867, p. 368.]¹

It by no means follows, however, that these works were written and published in this order.

Clearly enough, as Collier first pointed out, there was an earlier edition of the *Epitaphes* than that of 1567.² The title-page announces that the work is "newly corrected, with additions," and this is corroborated by the dedicatory epistle "To the Right Noble and his singular good Lady, Lady Anne, Countesse Warwick," in which Turberville wrote: "As at what time (Madame) I first published this fond and slender treatise of Sonets, I made bolde with you in dedication of so unworthy a booke to so worthie a Ladie," now I have increased "my former follie, in adding moe Sonets to those I wrote

¹ Leonard Maylarde registered "a boke intituled a playne path Waye to perfyete vertu &c" late in 1567 or early in 1568 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 357).

² *Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books*, II, 447. A fragment of what is supposed to be a copy of this first edition is said still to be extant.

before. . . . ” It is impossible to tell what poems were in the original edition and what were later added; it is practically certain, however, that the *Epitaphes* was published after Barnaby Googe’s *Epitaphes and Sonnets* appeared (March 15, 1563/64), for Googe’s work deeply influenced Turbervile, who refers to it several times in his own *Epitaphes*.¹ Turbervile’s epitaphs on Arthur Broke, who supposedly died in 1563, and on Sir John Tregonwell, who died in January, 1564/65, probably were written for the first edition of the *Epitaphes*, which, it seems safe to assume, was published in or after 1565.

The so-called first edition of the *Heroycall Epistles* was published, as a separate colophon at the end of the book states, on March 19, 1567,² that is, 1567/68; but in a dedicatory letter “To the Right Honorable and his Singular good Lord, Lord Tho. Hovvarde Vicount Byndon,” Turbervile declares that these epistles “are the first fruites of his trauaile,” while “To the Reader” he writes: “May be that if thou shewe thy selfe friendly in well accepting this prouision, thou shalt be inuited to a better banquet in time at my hands,” evidently a reference to a projected edition of his *Epitaphes*. Evidence is at hand to prove the truth of Turbervile’s statement that the *Epistles* preceded the *Epitaphes*. In the 1567 edition of the latter there is an address “To the Reader” which may have belonged to the original edition, and which says: “Here have I (gentle Reader) according to promise in my Translation [i.e., in the *Heroycall Epistles*], given thee a fewe Sonets”; and at the beginning of the work appear also lines addressed “To the rayling Route of Sycophants,” in which after objecting to the criticisms that have been leveled at his work, Turbervile says:

For Ovid earst did I attempt the like,
And for my selfe now shall I stick to strike?

¹ E.g., his verses called “Maister Googe his sonet of the paines of Loue” (p. 14), “Mayster Googe his Sonet” (p. 19), “Maister Googes fansie” (p. 205), “To Maister Googe his Sonet out of sight out of thought” (p. 222).

² Collier, *op. cit.*, II, 71; Hazlitt’s *Handbook*, 1867, s.v. “Ovid.” The copy (formerly owned by F. Locker-Lampson) in the Huntington Library, New York, also has this colophon. The colophon in the Harvard College Library copy does not have the words “Mar. 19”: both the title-page and the colophon of this copy have been mended, and the address to the sycophants, signs. X 2–X 3, has been bound in after sign. A 8 b. But the Harvard copy seems to belong to the same edition as do those dated “Mar. 19, 1567.”

Though thou [sycophant] affirme with rash and railing jawes
 That I *invita* have Minerva made
 My other booke, I gave thee no such cause
 By any deede of mine to drawe thy blade.

This "other booke" was certainly the *Heroycall Epistles*, and it likewise has eleven six-line stanzas called "The Translator to the captious sort of Sycophants," which were probably not included in the first issue.

The Stationers' Registers, too, offer proof that the *Epistles* had appeared before 1567/68; for about July, 1566, Henry Denham (the publisher of the extant 1567/68 edition) licensed for publication "a boke intituled *the fyrste epestle of Ovide*,"¹ a day or two later licensed *An epestle of Ovide beyng the iiijth epestle &c.*,² and about January, 1566/67, paid twelve pence "for his lycense for ye pryntinge of *the Reste of the Epestles of Ovide*."³ If Denham had printed the book immediately after securing this last license, it would have appeared several months before the 1567 edition of the *Epitaphes*, which was registered for publication about March, 1566/67;⁴ and that he did actually print the *Epistles*, in part or in whole, at this time is certain; for otherwise Turberville's remark in the preface to the 1567 edition of the *Epitaphes*—"Here have I . . . according to promise in my Translation, given thee a few Sonets"—would be senseless. If his words are to be interpreted literally, the preface to the *Epistles* shows that this book, containing all his translations, preceded the first issue of the *Epitaphes*, and hence may have appeared by 1565; but it is possible that the address to Lord Howard was printed in the "boke intituled *the fyrste epestle of Ovide*," which Denham licensed, and may have published separately, in July, 1566, and that the first edition of the *Epitaphes* appeared shortly after this date, but before the *Epistles* were published in collected form.⁵ The extant edition of the *Heroycall Epistles* dated March, 1567/68, at any rate cannot be the first edition.

¹ Arber's *Transcript*, I, 328.

² *Ibid.*, p. 329.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

⁵ There would have been nothing unusual in so issuing one of Turberville's books twice in a year. They were all extremely popular. The *Epitaphes*, e.g., were printed in 1565?, 1567, 1570, 1579, 1584; the *Heroycall Epistles*, 1567/68, 1569, 1570?, 1600, 1605; the *Eglogs*, 1567, 1572, 1577, 1594, 1597.

Turbervile's *Eglogs*, too, may have been printed in two or more instalments, for Henry Bynneman (the publisher of the first extant edition) secured a "lycense for pryntinge of *the fyrste iiij^{or} eggloges of Mantuan &c*" about January, 1566/67,¹ and about March of the same year a "lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled *the Rest of the eggleges of Mantuan*."² It is more probable, however, that to protect his title from pirate printers, Bynneman licensed this work as the translation progressed and that immediately after he secured the last license the entire work was first published. In an address to the reader prefixed to the *Eglogs*, Turbervile remarks: "Having translated this Poet (gentle Reader) although basely and with barren pen, [I] thought it not good nor friendly to wythhold it from thee: knowing of olde thy wonted curtesie in perusing Bookes, and discretion in iudging them without affection," a remark which substantiates the statement that his first two works had appeared "of olde"—one or two years earlier.³ Turbervile's *Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue*, translated from Mancinus, appeared in 1568; the book is not accessible to me, and I am unaware what light it may throw on these vexing bibliographical matters.

In 1567 Turbervile, then the most important professional poet in London, contributed complimentary verses to Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin*, a work which no doubt suggested the compilation of *Tragical Tales, translated by Turbervile, In time of his troubles, out of sundrie Italians*. The only extant copies of this work were "imprinted at London by Abell Ieffs, dwelling in the Forestreete without Crepelgate at the signe of the Bel. Anno Dom. 1587."⁴ The nature of Turbervile's troubles will be discussed later; here it must be shown that the book appeared

¹ Arber's *Transcript*, I, 334.

² *Ibid.*, p. 340.

³ The *Eglogs*, dated 1567, seems actually to have come from the press shortly after the new year began (on March 25); so that it preceded by almost a year the March 19, 1567/68, edition of the *Heroicall Epistles*—another reason why that cannot be considered the first edition.

⁴ The "tragical tales" are ten in number, seven being translated from Boccaccio, two from Bandello, and one from an unknown source. The book is considerably lengthened by a number of miscellaneous poems, for which a separate title-page is provided: "Epitaphes and Sonnettes annexed to the Tragical histories, By the Author. With some other broken pamphlettes and Epistles, sent to certaine his frends in England, at his being in Moscouia. Anno 1569. *Omnia probate. Quod bonum est tenete.*"

The book was reprinted at Edinburgh, 1837 (fifty copies only)—a careful reprint, according to Collier's *Bibl. Account*, II, 452; "very incorrectly" reprinted, according to Hazlitt's *Handbook* (1867), p. 617—and my references are to this reprint.

between 1574 and 1575. It may be remarked, first of all, that from June, 1568, to September, 1569, Turberville was in Russia; most of the poems published in the *Tales* were, as will be shown, written after his return to England.

Prefixed to the *Tales* are verses (already referred to) in which the poet explains why he "forewent the translation of the learned Poet Lucan":

I had begonne that hard attempt,
to turne that fertile soyle.
My bullocks were alreadie yokte,
and flatly fell to toyle.
Me thought they laboured meetlie well,
tyll on a certaine night

Melpomene appeared to him, advised him to continue to follow Clio, and rebuked his presumption thus:

How durst thou deale in field affaires?
leauē off, vnyoke thy steeres.
Let loftie Lucans verse alone.¹

Now in Thomas Blener-Hasset's prefatory epistle, dated May 15, 1577, to the second part of the *Mirror for Magistrates* occurs this passage: "But how hard a thing it is to compell *Clio*, with her boysterous banners, to couch vnder the compasse of a few metered lines, I referre you vnto the good *Turberuile*, who so soone as he began to take the terrible treatise of *Lucan* in hand, he was inforst to vnyoke his steeres, and to make holy day."² From this Koeppl rightly decided that the *Tales* had appeared before May, 1577, and referred also to a note in Malone's copy of the *Tales* (1587 edition, now in the Bodleian), which runs: "There was a former edition of the *Tales* in 1576."³ There may actually have been an edition of 1576⁴

¹ This clumsy figure was probably suggested by an explanation in Googe's *Zodiacke of Life* (1560) of why he (Googe) gave up the translation of Lucan urged by Melpomene. See Arber's reprint, 1871, of Googe's *Eglogs*, p. 7.

² *Mirror for Magistrates* (ed. J. Haslewood, 1815), I, 348. Haslewood noted that Blener-Hasset was quoting Turberville's own words.

³ Koeppl, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49. Seccombe, in the *D.N.B.*, apparently considers the 1587 edition the first and only edition.

⁴ The existence of this 1576 edition has generally been assumed, e.g., by Wood-Bliss, *Athen. Oxon.*, I, 627; by Hutchins, *Dorset*, 1861, I, 196; by Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets*, I, 578; and by Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, 1834, II, 1839, following *Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., I, 318, where the existence of such an edition is merely taken for granted. Collier (*Bibl. Account*, II, 450) claimed to have a fragmentary copy of an edition apparently older than that of 1587, but strangely enough made no effort to establish its date.

(though Malone probably thought so because of Blener-Hasset's remark), but the book was certainly written and published before 1575.

The ten tragical tales were, the title-page informs us, "translated by Turbervile, In time of his troubles," and his troubles were (as he thought!) over in 1575, for in the dedication of his *Booke of Faulconrie*,¹ published in that year, he addressed the Earl of Warwick as follows:

Had leysure answered my meaning, and sicknesse giuen but some reasonable time of truce sithence my late troubles, I had ere this in Englishe verse published, vnder the protection of your noble name the haughtie woorke of learned *Lucane*. . . . But occasions breaking off my purposes, & disease cutting my determinations therein, am now driuen to a newe matter . . . and forced to fall from haughtye warres, to hie fleeing Hawkes . . . yet for that it best fitteth a melancholike heade, surcharged with pensiue and sullen humors, my earnest sute must be for good acceptance at your honors hands.

This passage, with its reference to "my late troubles" and to the abandonment of the translation of Lucan, proves beyond all doubt that the *Booke of Faulconrie* appeared after the *Tragical Tales*. Had biographers actually read Turbervile's work, this fact would long ago have been established.

The other limit of the appearance of the *Tales* can be fairly well established by an examination of the "Epitaphes and Sonnettes annexed to the Tragical histories." Three of the poems there printed are said to be poetical epistles written by Turbervile from Russia in 1569. Among the others there are three that can be used in dating the book: one of these is an elegy on "The right noble Lord, William, Earle Pembroke his death," and the other two lament the death of Henry Sydenham and of Giles Bampfield. Pembroke died on March 17, 1569/70; the other elegies inform us that Sydenham and Bampfield were drowned in "Irishe streame" while with the army of the Earl of Essex, and this places their death in 1573.² The

¹ *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hawking*, for the Onely Delight and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen: Collected out of the best aucthors, as well Italians as Frenchmen, and some English practises withall concernyng Faulconrie. . . . By George Turberuile Gentleman. . . . Imprinted at London for Christopher Barker, at the signe of the Grashopper in Paules Churchyarde. Anno. 1575."

² According to the *D.N.B.* Essex sailed with his army from Liverpool on July 19, 1573, and Turbervile tells us that his friends were drowned in a storm before the army had disembarked.

Tragical Tales, then, must have been published about 1574, not long before the *Booke of Faulconrie*. Unfortunately the Stationers' Registers for this period are lost.

There is still further proof for the priority of the *Tales* to the *Faulconrie*. Not only is the *Faulconrie* omitted in Melpomene's list of books published by Turberville,¹ but in complimentary verses prefixed to the *Tales*, Robert Baynes prophesies:

The same who vewes, shall find his lines, with learned reason dight.
And as to elder age, his stayed braine shall grow:
So falling from, his riper penne, more graue conceites may flow,

verses which if written in 1587 would have been absolutely ridiculous. Furthermore, in verses prefixed to the *Faulconrie*, Baynes refers specifically to the ten tragical histories:

The Booke so done, as neede no whit, the wryters name empare.
VVhose noted skill so knowne, whose penne so had in price,
As credite yeeldes, eche worke of his, that falles from his deuce.
Among the which, though this doth differ from his lore:
From grauer stufte a pause it is, to sharpe his wittes the more.

Some of the "Sonnettes" printed in the last part of the *Tales* seem to have been composed in Russia, and one of them, "A farewell to a mother Cosin, at his going towards Moscouia," claims to have been written in June, 1568. It was natural that Turberville should have collected these older poems and added them to his newer poems in 1574 to fill out the volume of translated tales.²

Turberville's other work of this period was "*The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hvnting*. . . . Translated and collected for the pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen, out of the best approued Authors." The book has no imprint,³ but the dedication to Sir Henry Clinton is signed by C[hristopher] B[arker], a distinguished printer. "The Translator to the Reader," also unsigned, is dated June 16, 1575.

¹ This list, from the *Tales*, is quoted on pp. 516-17, above.

² *Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., I, 318, informs us (and has the usual number of followers) that "to the latter edition (i.e., of 1587, an earlier edition of 1576 being assumed) of the *Tales* were annexed 'Epitaphs and Sonets.'" This is absurd: even Turberville would hardly have added epitaphs on men who had been dead for fifteen years.

³ This at least is the case with the facsimile reprint issued in the "Tudor and Stuart Library," Oxford, 1908; but the copy formerly in the Hoe Library (*Catalogue*, IV, 295) had the imprint, "Imprinted by Henry Bynneman, for Christopher Barker."

The work, however, is everywhere attributed to Turberville,¹ and is usually found bound with his *Booke of Faulconrie*. With this book Turberville's literary career may have come to an end; there is no proof that he wrote anything more, although various later works have been attributed to him. These attributions will not be discussed here.

III

The "troubles" to which Turberville so often refers have aroused some interest in his biographers, although no one has attempted to show what his troubles were. The *Tragical Tales*, not content with informing us on the title-page that it was written "in time of his troubles," constantly reminds us of them. The dedication, "To the Worshipfull his louing brother, Nicholas Turberuile, Esquire," declares that "these few Poeticall parers [*sic*], and pensiuë Pamphlets" are "the ruful records of my former trauel, in the sorowful sea of my late misaduentures: which hauing the more spedily by your carefull and brotherly endeuour, ouerpassed and escaped, could not but offer you this treatise in lieu of a more large liberalitie." Then in a long epistle "To his verie friend Ro. Baynes," Turberville remarks:

VVherein if ought vnworth the presse thou finde
Vnsauorie, or that seemes vnto thy taste,
Impute it to the troubles of my minde,
Whose late mishap made this be hatcht in haste,
By clowdes of care best beauties be defaste.

He also adds that

in my life I neuer felt such fittes,
As whilst I wrote this worke did daunt my wittes.

Even to Melpomene he announces that

late mishaps haue me bereft
my rimes of roisting ioye:
Syth churlish fortune clouded hath
my glee, with mantell blacke,
Of foule mischaunce, wherby my barke
was like to bide the wracke.

¹ H. G. Aldis (*Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, IV, 389) says: "It was at the instance and expense of Christopher Barker that Turberville undertook the compilation of *The noble arte of venerie or hunting* (1575), the publisher himself seeking out and procuring works of foreign writers for the use of the compiler."

The troubles to which Turberville referred were, as I have shown, over by 1575. And what were they? Not sickness, for the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Warwick shows that sickness followed, but was not a part of, his troubles. Nor had they begun as early as 1568. By that time Turberville had attained great prominence as a poet, and in 1568 he was chosen by Randolph as secretary for the embassy to Russia, a post of some honor. If, however, Turberville's "Farewell to a mother Cosin," a poem in the *Tales*, was actually written before he left for Russia, he was either deliberately feigning melancholy or else his troubles had begun. To his mother he writes that "cruel fortune will never smile on me," "my country coast would never allow me one good luck," "I have spent all my years in study, and yet have never got a better chance."

Sith I haue livde so long,
and neuer am the neere,
To bid my natie soile farewell,
I purpose for a yeere.
And more perhaps if neede
and present cause require.

It seems more probable that this poem was composed after Turberville had returned to England, for there is certainly no trace of sorrow or melancholy or trouble in the other poetical letters that he sent from Russia to various English friends.¹

After reading the woebegone love songs that are added to the *Tales*, one might be tempted to believe that Turberville's troubles were only those of the heart. One, for example, begins:

Wounded with loue, and piercing deep desire
Of your faire face, I left my natie land.²

Others have such titles as "That though he may not possible come or send, yet he liues mindfull of his mistresse in Moscouia"³ and "To one whom he had long loued, and at last was refused without cause,

¹ According to Randolph's own account of the embassy (in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589, pp. 339 ff.), he had about forty in his company, "of which the one halfe were Gentlemen, desirous to see the world." It was probably a spirit of adventure that led Turberville to accompany Randolph. He can hardly have been having any deep-rooted trouble when he could stop his metrical tale of woe to assure his mother:

"Put case the snow be thicke,/and winter frostes be great:
I doe not doubt but I shal finde/a stoue to make me sweat!"

² Page 315.

³ Page 302.

and one imbraced that least deserued it.”¹ In many of his poems Turberville is frankly, or better, naïvely, autobiographical; but at the end of the *Tragical Tales* he takes occasion explicitly to warn his readers against misinterpreting these love poems, adding “The Authors excuse for writing these and other Fancies, with promise of grauer matter hereafter.” “My prime,” he says, “prouokt my hasty idle quill To write of loue, when I did meane no ill.” Ovid, whose every “leafe of loue the title eke did beare,” encouraged him; and besides, he lived in the Inns of Court among sundry gallants who were victims of love,

And being there, although my minde were free,
Yet must I seeme loue wounded eke to be.

Many of these gallants, he continues, had persuaded him to write poems for them to send to their own mistresses, until

So many were the matters, as at last
The whole vnto a hansom volume grewe:
Then to the presse they must in all the hast,
Maugre my beard, my mates would haue it so.

He concludes with the assurance that “I meane no more with loues deuise to deale.”²

Evidently, then, hopeless love was not Turberville’s trouble—but it would be interesting to know what share his wife had in his penning this public apology. For when the *Tales* was published Turberville was certainly married. In a jingle called “To his Friend Nicholas Roscarock, to induce him to take a Wife,” Turberville writes that since his own “raging prime is past” he is now sending an epistle which

toucheth mariage vow,
An order which my selfe haue entred now.

If I had known this sacred yoke earlier, he says,

Good faith, I would not wasted so my prime
In wanton wise, and spent an idle time

as “my London mates” still do. Koeppel was pleased by this letter, because it made him feel that happier days came to the poet after

¹ Page 336.

² In his preface “To the Reader” in the *Epitaphes* (1567) Turberville had made a similar disclaimer: “By meere fiction of these fantasies, I woulde warne (if I myghte) all tender age to flee that fonde and filthie affection of poysoned and unlawful love.” He admits, however, “my selfe am of their yeares and disposition.”

his marriage: "Das klingt uns nach den vielen klagen T.'s tröstlich zu ohren und lässt uns hoffen, dass auf seinen weiteren lebensweg, der sich unseren blicken entzieht, manch freundliches licht gefallen sein wird."¹ But Turberville had evidently found an old proverb true: he was complaining of his troubles just after he had married! Unhappily for Koeppel's theory, furthermore, instead of expressing only delight with marriage, in verses that follow those quoted above, Turberville writes like a confirmed woman-hater and a cynic. You may not wish to marry, he tells Roscarock, until you find a maiden who is "both yoong and faire, with wealth and goods," but that is foolish:

Be rulde by me, let giddy fansie go,
Imbrace a wife, with wealth and coyne enough:
Force not the face, regard not feature so,
An aged grandame that maintains the plough,
And brings thee bags, is woorth a thousand peates
That pranck their pates, and lue by Spanish meates.

It is to be hoped that, however hard looking Mrs. Turberville may have been, she at least brought heavy bags to her troubled husband.²

But not all the blame for the poet's "fittes" can be thrown on his wife. It is possible that he was suspected of complicity in the Northern Rebellion of 1569. One thinks, in this connection, of the epitaph Turberville wrote on William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman whose alleged sympathy for the rebel earls led to his ruin. Furthermore, Turberville may have been a Catholic, as the State Papers of the period are full of references to Dorsetshire Turberviles who were summoned before the Privy Council to answer charges of non-conformity; and this alone would have brought him into suspicion. Some probability is added to this conjecture by the obvious anxiety Turberville showed, in his dedication of the *Book of Falconry*, to stay under the protection of the Earl of Warwick, who in September, 1573,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

² Nobody can doubt that this is one of Turberville's autobiographical poems. He was evidently intimately acquainted with Roscarock, who, according to the "Authors Epilogue" (*Tales*, pp. 401-2), was responsible for the publication of the book:

"Roscarockes warrant shal suffice,/who likte the writing so,
As did embolden me to let/the leaues at large to goe.
If il succede, the blame was his/who might haue kept it backe:
And frendly tolde me that my booke/his due deuise did lacke."

had been made a member of the Privy Council. However this be, I can point out two happenings that might well have "troubled" our poet.

The first is sufficiently explained by this entry in the *Acts of the Privy Council*¹ for March 29, 1571:

A letter to the Vicount Bindon and others, &c., Justices of Peax in the countie of Dorset, where the Quenes Majestie by her owne letters signified that her pleasure was they shuld cause certaine numbers of men to be in redines to serve upon further warning to be gyven unto them, and also were by letters amonges other thinges advertised from their Lordships that her plesure was they shuld make choise of such fit persons to have the leading of them as for their experience and other qualities agreable thereunto might be thought hable to take such a charge upon them; forasmuch as they are informed that contrary to her Majesties expectation and their order they have made choise for the leading of one hundred soldiours as well of one Hughe Bampfild, a man besides his old yeres farre unfitte to take such a charge upon him, having not ben imploied in like service, as also of George Turberville, who hath ben alwaies from his youth, and still is, gyven to his boke and studie and never exercised in matters of warre; lyke as they can not but finde it strainge that emongest such a number of fitt men as they know are to be found out in that countie they wold committe the same to persons farre unfitte for that purpose, so they are required to make sume better choise for the furniture of her Majesties service, or els to signifie why they can not do so, to thintent they may upon knowledge thereof take such furder order for the supply of their wantes as they shall find convenient.

Hugh Bampfild, here described as old and unfit for military service, was Turberville's uncle, and to him the poet, in terms of great respect and affection, had dedicated the *Eglogs*. It is easy to see how the order of the Privy Council would deeply have humiliated Turberville, and his abortive attempt at a soldier's life no doubt caused him to abandon the translation of Lucan's warlike poem. The deaths of Giles Bampfild—perhaps the son of Hugh and a cousin of the poet²—and Henry Sydenham soon followed.³ Turberville was

¹ Ed. Dasent, VIII, 21-22.

² In the *Tales*, p. 356, Turberville remarks:

"The second neere vnto my selfe allyde,
Gyles Bamfield hight, (I weepe to wryte his name)."

It may be noted also that George's paternal grandmother was Jane, daughter of Thomas Bampfild, of Somerset (Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, 3d ed., I, 139).

³ Cf. p. 522, above.

evidently very fond of these men, for he included two mournful elegies on them in the *Tragical Tales*. Even ignoring the dubious Mrs. Turberville, here is humiliation and grief enough to trouble anyone.

IV

If the date of the *Tragical Tales* could be pushed forward to 1587, there would be no difficulty in explaining the poet's troubles; for after 1576 they came, not single spies, but in battalions. In August, 1577, he had a quarrel with Sir Henry Ashley, which was of sufficient moment to attract the attention of the Privy Council.¹ On August 20, three years later, the Commissioners for Musters in Dorsetshire appointed a new captain for service in Ireland in place of Mr. George Turberville (he can hardly have been any other than the poet), who was "a great spurner of their authority."² But a far worse trouble had previously befallen him.

On March 17, 1579/80, Richard Jones, a London printer, licensed for publication *A dittie of master Turbervyle Murthered: and John Morgan that murdered him: with a letter of the said Morgan to his mother and another to his Sister Turbervyle*. The ballad itself is not extant, but the bare entry, though not before utilized, has high value for a biographer of George Turberville. Thomas Park,³ to be sure, noticed that in Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities* the ballad was listed among Jones's publications, and half believed that the poet himself had been murdered; but (like the editor of the Edinburgh reprint of the *Tragical Tales*⁴) he was not wholly convinced, because Anthony à Wood⁵ had specifically said that the poet was alive in 1594. Collier in 1849 commented under the entry of the ballad, "This is supposed to have been George Turberville, the poet."⁶ But a few years later, because meanwhile he had read Wood's statement and because he believed that the *Tragical Tales* first appeared in 1587, Collier changed his mind.⁷ Other writers have paid no attention to the ballad-entry.

¹ "A letter to Lord Marques of Winchester and the Justices of Assises in the countie of Dorset for the examining of a quarrell betwene Sir Henry Asheley and George Turbevill, gentleman, according to a minute remaining in the Counsell Chest" (*Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, X, 14).

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 673.

³ *Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., I, 315. ⁴ Page viii. ⁵ *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 628.

⁶ *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, II, 109. ⁷ *Bibliographical Account*, II, 453.

As a matter of fact, the murdered Turberville was not George but Nicholas. For on February 18, 1579/80, the Privy Council instructed the Sheriff of Somerset to select a jury "of good and indifferent men for thenquiry and triall of the murther committed by Jhon Morgan upon Nicholas Turberville, esquire . . . and to have regard that the said Morgan may bee safely kept to bee forthcoming to awnswer unto justice."¹ Nine days later the Council ordered the release of one William Staunton who had been committed to prison "appon suspition that he shold have consented to that detestable fact," the murder, because it had been "credibly enformed that he ys not anywayes culpable therof," but directed that he be bound to appear at the Assizes.²

Now there were at least three Nicholas Turbervilles—the poet's father, his brother (to whom the *Tragical Tales* is dedicated), and his second cousin, Nicholas of Crediton. This cousin lived until 1616,³ and a Nicholas Turberville of Winterbourne Whitchurch, who was surely, I think, the poet's brother, died shortly before August 7, 1584, when his estate was administered.⁴ Only Nicholas, the poet's father, remains to be considered. He was sheriff of Dorset in the nineteenth year of Elizabeth's reign.⁵ As his term had expired only a short time before the murder, this would account for the interest shown in the case by the Privy Council. His wife was a daughter of Morgan of South Mapperton;⁶ hence merely from the title of the ballad it is clear that the murdered man was George Turberville's father, for it informs us that the murderer *Morgan* wrote a letter "to his *Sister* Turbervyle." Nicholas Turberville, then, was murdered by John Morgan, his brother-in-law—a tragedy that instinctively reminds one of the immortal descendant of this family, Tess of the D'Urbervilles.

¹ *Acts*, ed. Dasent, XI, 391.

² *Ibid.*, p. 401.

³ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, 3d ed., I, 139.

⁴ *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, II, 89.

⁵ Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, xlii; Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. P. A. Nuttal, I, 472; *Acts of the P.C.*, X, 216.

⁶ See the pedigrees in Hutchins, I, 139. There, by the way, the poet's brother Nicholas is not mentioned. Troilus, the elder brother, is said by Seccombe to have died in 1607; but Hutchins (I, 201) shows that his fourth and fifth sons were baptized at Winterbourne Whitchurch in 1607 and 1609; he died about July 8, 1609, when his estate was administered by his widow, Anne (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, II, 297).

Fortunately, further proof of this relationship is available. In Anthony Munday's lugubrious *View of sundry Examples, Reporting many straunge murthers* (1580)¹ is included an

*Example of John Morgan, who slew Maister Turberville in
Somersetshire, 1580*

Likewise in Somersetshire, one John Morgan, by common report a lewd and wicked liver, and given to swearing, roysting, and all wickednes abound-ing in him, slew his brother in law, Maister Turberville, a gentleman of godly life, very sober, wise, and discreet, whose wife lying in childebed [this is probably an invention of Munday's], yet arose and went to have law and justice pronounced on that cruel malefactor. So, at Chard, before the Lord Chief Justice, hee was condemned and suffered death for his offence. 1580.

No one who has read this book can doubt that Munday may have manufactured incidents here, as he certainly did in his other "examples," to increase the effect of his story.² His account is important, however, because it proves that John Morgan was Nicholas Turberville's brother-in-law; and the pedigrees of Morgan and Turberville given in Hutchins' *Dorset* show beyond all question that Morgan's brother-in-law, Nicholas Turberville, was the poet's father.

The fact that Nicholas was murdered in Somerset, not in Dorset, is of no importance. Dorsetshire and Somersetshire adjoin each other, and indeed until the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign had formed one county.³ The indictment itself charged that John Morgan, "gentleman, lately of Dorset, did in the aforesaid county strike and kill the said Turberville"—an ambiguous wording that later proved fortunate for Morgan's heirs.⁴ Just when the murder occurred I have been unable to determine. The first mention I find of it is in the order of the Privy Council, February 18, 1579/80, already quoted. But there is a record that on January 27, 1579/80, the estate of Nicholas Turberville of Winterbourne Whitechurch,

¹ Ed. Collier, Old Shakespeare Society, 1851, pp. 85-86.

² One of his examples (p. 90) is of "A Woman of lix yeers delivered of three Children," each of whom at once made some such appropriate remark as "The day appointed which no man can shun."

³ I have searched vainly through histories and records of Somerset for a Nicholas Turberville.

⁴ See Sir George Croke's *Reports*, 1790, p. 101. Croke reports that the Queen's Bench (30 Eliza.) reversed the attainder and restored Morgan's estates to his heir, because the indictment was shown to be faulty: it charged Morgan with having killed Turberville in the "aforesaid county" (of Dorset), when Somersetshire was actually meant. Croke mistakenly gives the murderer's name as Thomas Morgan.

Dorset, was administered by his widow.¹ It can hardly be doubted that this Nicholas was the poet's father, and that he was murdered shortly before January 27. As for John Morgan, he was attainted, his estates were forfeited to the Crown, and he was hanged on March 14, 1579/80.² Three days later ballad singers were singing a lamentable ditty about his crime and execution through the streets of London.

In spite of their ancient and honorable ancestry—and long before the days of Tess—all the Turberviles were having evil fortunes. It seems probable that they were suspected of papistry and, as a corollary, of disloyalty to the Queen. On August 4, 1581, for example, Viscount Bindon, the nobleman to whom the *Heroycall Epistles* was dedicated,³ was notified by the Privy Council "touchinge Turbervile of Beere, who cometh not to the churche, and . . . harbourethe one Bosgrave" to arrest both men and "to searche the house for bookes and other superstitious stuffe."⁴ Francis Turberville, of Dorset, was outlawed in 1587 for "divers robberies committed";⁵ Thomas was summoned before the Council in July, 1587, on the charge of aiding and maintaining felons;⁶ Jenkin and his two sons, who lived in Wales, were Catholics and were suspected of harboring priests;⁷ in March, 1591, Mr. Morgan⁸ of Weymouth, Dorsetshire, was reported to be keeping a priest in his house, as was also "the sister-in-law of Turberville, who serves one of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland's daughters, and is much trusted by the Jesuits."⁹ Many other instances of this sort could be cited, and while none of them may refer directly to the poet, they do refer to his kinsmen, and in some of them he was probably concerned.

On June 22, 1587, Turberville himself appeared before the Privy Council "to answeare certaine matters objected against him," and

¹ *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, II, 54.

² Hutchins, *op. cit.*, II, 158. I have not traced the source whence the editors derived this date. They remark that John Morgan killed his brother-in-law, Nicholas Turberville, but do not attempt to indicate which Nicholas the murdered man was.

³ John Turberville, of Bere and Woolbridge, married Lady Anne, Viscount Bindon's daughter, in 1608 (Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, 154).

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, XIII, 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 96.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XV, 164.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 310, 378 (November, December, 1596).

⁸ The name *Morgan* suggests that the poet's relatives may have been aimed at in this report.

⁹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1591-94, III, 24.

was ordered "not to depart without special licence from their Lordships obtained in that behalfe."¹ Nicholas Turberville (George's cousin?) received similar orders on April 25, 1588.² What these charges were, I have no means of determining; but the poet was apparently exonerated, for on April 12, 1588, the Council sent a letter to the Lord Treasurer, notifying him that

whereas George Turvyle, gentleman, was appointed by the Earle of Warwycke to be the Muster Master in the countye of Warwycke under his Lieutenantcy, therefore his Lordship was praied, accordinge unto a Privy Seale graunted unto his Lordship for those purposes, to paie or cause to be paid unto the said gentleman, by waye of imprest, the somme of fyvteene poundes after tenn shillinges the daye, to be allowed him for so many dayes as he should be emploied in that service, allowing him for his repaier thether and his retorne hether againe so many daies as should suffice for that jorney.³

That Turberville was a *protégé* of the Warwicks is certain; in addition to the genuine gratitude he expressed to the Earl in the dedication of the *Book of Falconry*, he had previously dedicated "to his singular good Lady," the Countess of Warwick, the first and second editions of the *Epitaphes* and the *Plain Path to Perfect Virtue* (1568). It seems almost certain, then, that "George Turvyle, gentleman," was Turberville the poet; and that in 1588, as in 1574-75, the Earl had come to the help of his rhyming friend.

V

On October 7, 1578, Nicholas Turberville, gentleman, was ordered to appear before the Privy Council for contempt of "the Commissioners appointed to deale betwene the prisonners of her Majesties Benche and their creditours," because he had repeatedly refused to appear before the Commissioners so that they could deal "with him in a cause betwene him and one Thomas Spencer, prisonner in the said Benche."⁴ Presumably he appeared, but some time later the Council ordered Sir William Courtney and others to settle "certaine controversies touchinge matters in accompt betwene Nicholas Turberville and Thomas Spenser of Crediton in that countie of Devon" or to advise the Council which of the two was at fault.⁵

¹ *Acts*, XV, 135. Seccombe, in the *D.N.B.*, has also noticed this record. Surely the poet is meant by the phrase "George Turberville of Wolbridge in the countie of Dorset, gentleman."

² *Ibid.*, XVI, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI, 31-32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 338-39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XII, 76 (June 29, 1580).

The Turberville here mentioned was probably Nicholas of Crediton, George's second cousin; but I have quoted these records only to suggest that Thomas Spencer, or another of his family, was the person addressed by George Turberville in the three poetical letters printed in the latter part of his *Tragical Tales*.¹

Turberville addresses his friend merely as "Spencer," but Anthony à Wood² supplied the name "Edmund," believing that the letters were written to the *Faerie Queene* poet. Park³ remarked that they were addressed to "Edmund Spenser (not the poet)"; but the editor of the Edinburgh reprint of the *Tales* in his preface declared that "one of the epistles . . . is inscribed to Edmund Spenser, with whom he [Turberville] was in habits of intimacy"! Collier, also, believed that Turberville was "a young friend of Spenser" and that he wrote the poetical epistle from Russia "in the very year [1569] when the author of the *Faerie Queene* was matriculated at Pembroke Hall, at the age of seventeen."⁴ Turberville, it should be remembered, had left Oxford in 1561, when Spenser was nine years of age; and there is little probability, certainly no evidence, that he knew Edmund Spenser.

Koeppel nevertheless adopted Collier's view, and went much farther by distorting the lines in *Colin Clout*,

There is good Harpalus, now woxen aged
In faithful service of faire Cynthia,

into an allusion to Turberville. He bases this interpretation on the altogether untenable grounds "dass T. auf der fahrt nach Russland der königin gedient hatte, und dass wir daher aus dem umstande, dass uns der dichter nach so vielen klagen plötzlich als glücklicher ehemann entgegentritt, ohne kühnheit schliessen dürfen, ein von der königin, Cynthia, gewahrter posten habe ihn der schlimmsten not des lebens entrissen; dass T. sicherlich *aged* war,"⁵ and so on. None of these remarks can be substantiated. I have already shown that Turberville was "ein glücklicher ehemann" in the years 1573-74, just when he was complaining most bitterly of his troubles, and that his attempts to serve "Cynthia" in the army brought him only humilia-

¹ Pages 300, 308, 375. The last of these, with two other letters from Russia addressed "To Parker" and "To Edward Dancie," is also reprinted in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589, pp. 408-13.

² *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 627.

³ *Censura Literaria*, I, 314.

⁴ *Bibl. Account*, II, 70, 453. Cf. also his *Spenser*, I, xxiii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff. A third reason is "dass Harpalus sich in der silbenzahl mit dem namen unseres freundes deckt!"

tion and dismissal. There is no evidence to show that Cynthia ever aided him, nor is there any reason to believe him as "aged," say, as Thomas Churchyard; indeed, he was very probably dead when *Colin Clout* was published. There is also, I am well aware, no reason whatever for identifying the Thomas Spencer mentioned above with the Spencer of the poetical epistles; but nevertheless, the supposition that Turberville wrote to a Dorsetshire friend named Spencer, just as he wrote to other local friends named Parker and Dancie, is very reasonable. Koeppel's view is fanciful in the extreme.

VI

Early bibliographers, after agreeing upon 1540 as the date of Turberville's birth,¹ pointed out that Thomas Purfoot's 1611 edition of the *Book of Falconry* announced on its title-page that it was "heretofore published by George Turberville, Gentleman. And now newly reviuied, corrected, and augmented, with many new Additions proper to these present times";² and hence gave 1610 as the year of his death. This date, given the weighty approval of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is now generally accepted; so well accepted that the *Cambridge History of English Literature* puts a question mark after 1540, but omits it after 1610, although the former is the more accurate date. Seccombe, apparently following Ritson,³ in his sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives the misleading statement that Turberville prefixed complimentary verses to Rowlands' *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1596), whereas Turberville was probably dead in 1596, and his verses appeared in the 1586 edition of Rowlands' translation.

Anthony à Wood wrote that Turberville "lived and was in great esteem among ingenious men, in fifteen hundred and ninety-four (36 reg. Elizab.),"⁴ but he probably got this notion from an epitaph

¹ Because Wood says that Turberville was admitted scholar of Winchester College in 1554 at the age of fourteen. In the *Epitaphes* (Collier's reprint, p. 81) there is a poem entitled "The Lover to Cupid for mercie," which states that

"In greene and tender age
(my Lorde), till xviii years,
I spent my time as fitted youth
in schole among my fecares."

Wood, who on this point ought to be correct, tells us that the poet left Oxford in 1561; so that if Turberville's words be taken literally, he was born about 1543.

² See *Catalogue of the Hoe Library*, IV, 297.

³ *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 370. Rowlands' *Lazarillo* was licensed for publication by Colwell in 1568 and sold by him to Bynneman on June 19, 1573 (*Arber's Transcript*, I, 378), who got out an edition in 1576.

⁴ *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 628.

(presently to be quoted) written on Turbervile by Sir John Harington, and his very specifickness makes his accuracy doubtful. In other details of the poet's life Wood is notably inaccurate, and there is no particular reason for trusting him here. There is no proof whatever that in 1594 the poet was in great esteem among men, ingenious or otherwise. On the contrary, although new editions of his works were still appearing, by 1590 he was regarded as an antiquated writer of an unlettered age. His literary work was completed in 1576—at least records of later works are untrustworthy—and Elizabethan writers condescendingly referred to him and Gascoigne as authors of bygone days. "Maister *Gascoigne*," Nashe wrote in 1589, "is not to bee abridged of his deserued esteeme, who first beate the path to that perfection which our best Poets haue aspired to since his departure. . . . Neither was M. *Turberuile* the worst of his time, though in translating hee attributed too much to the necessitie of rime."¹ Gabriel Harvey's comment seems to be more important. He writes of Nashe: "Had he begun to Aretinize when Elderton began to ballat, Gascoine to sonnet, Turberuile to madrigal, Drant to versify, or Tarleton to extemporise, some parte of his phantasticall bibble-babbles and capricious panges might haue bene tollerated in a greene and wild youth; but the winde is chaunged, & there is a busier pageant vpon the stage."² Elderton's first known ballad appeared in March, 1559/60; he was certainly dead by 1592, and probably a year or two earlier. Gascoigne came into prominence as a poet in 1573 and was dead by 1577; Drant died about 1578 and Tarlton in 1588. Does it not seem as if Harvey had chosen for comparison with Nashe only dead authors whom he held in contempt? My own feeling is that Turbervile was dead by 1593; at any rate he was far from being in great esteem. Robert Tofte would hardly have written in 1615 the following passage if Turbervile had died only five years before: "This nice Age wherein wee now liue, hath brought more neate and teirse Wits into the world; yet must not old *George Gascoigne* and *Turberuill*, with such others, be altogether

¹ Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 319.

² *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II, 96). In *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596 (*Works*, III, 123), Nashe wrote: "I would make his [Harvey's] eares ring againe, and haue at him with two staues & a pike, which was a kinde of old verse in request before he fell a rayling at *Turberuile* or *Elderton*." Comparison with Elderton certainly is not a sign of high esteem.

reiected, since they first broke the Ice for our quainter Poets, that now write, that they might the more safer swimme in the maine Ocean of sweet Poesie."¹

In the notes to the fifth book of his *Orlando Furioso* (1591) Sir John Harington wrote: "Sure the tale [of Geneura] is a prettie comicall matter, and hath beene written in English verse some few yeares past (learnedly and with good grace) though in verse of another kind, by *M. George Turberuil*."² This passage may well have been written two or three years before 1591, but in any case throws no light on the date of Turberville's death.³ In *Palladis Tamia* (1598) Meres praised Turberville for his "learned translations" along with Googe and Phaer (who had long been dead), Golding, Chapman, Harington, and others;⁴ and Allot included eight quotations from Turberville in his *England's Parnassus* (1600).⁵

It is almost certain, however, that Turberville was dead before 1598. In Sir John Harington's *Epigrams*⁶ is printed

*An Epitaph in commendation of George Turbervill a
learned Gentleman*

When times were yet but rude, thy pen endeavored
To pollish Barbarisme with purer stile:
When times vvere grown most old, thy heart persevered
Sincere and just, unstain'd with gifts or guile.
Now lives thy soule, though from thy corps dissevered,
There high in blisse, here cleare in fame the vvhile;
To vvhich I pay this debt of due thanksgiving,
My pen doth praise thee dead, thine grac'd me living.

Harington himself died in 1612, and the epigrams were not written during the last three or four years of his life. They were, indeed, written during an interval of five or six years, and, although the exact date of this epitaph on Turberville cannot be determined, the limits of the epigrams as a whole can easily be fixed. Many of the epigrams (which were first published in their entirety in 1618) were written after Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596); No. 85 in

¹ *The Blazon of Jealousie*, 1615, p. 64.

² 1634 ed., p. 39.

³ For a discussion of the *Comic Tales* supposed, because of Harington's note, to have been written by Turberville see *Censura Literaria*, I, 319, and Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.*, p. 370.

⁴ Arber's *English Garner*, II, 102.

⁵ Ed. Charles Crawford, p. 383.

⁶ Book I, No. 42, 1633 ed. (added to *Orlando Furioso*, 1634 ed.).

Book II is entitled "*Ouids* confession translated into English for Generall *Norreyes*. 1593"; III, 26, is "In commendation of Master *Lewknors* sixt description of Venice. Dedicated to Lady *Warwick*. 1595"; II, 64 and 84 are on Thomas Bastard and apparently refer to his *Chrestoleros* (1598); and IV, 11, is on Thomas Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, which was licensed for publication at Stationers' Hall on October 19, 1597. The latest epigram that I have noted is one (IV, 10) on the execution of Essex (1601). But the majority of the epigrams were written during 1596-98.¹ It would be more reasonable, then, to date Turberville's death "1598?" (or even "1593?") than "1610?"

A contemporary elegy on Turberville, which has never been reprinted or even referred to by his biographers, is preserved in Sloane MS 1709, folio 270, *verso*. Judged as burlesque, the verses are not altogether stupid. They run:

Wth tricklinge teares ye Muses nine, bewaile o^r present woe,
 W^t Dreerye Drops of doleful plaintes o^r sobbinge sorrowes shewe,
 Put on y^r moⁿinge weedes alas, poure forth your plaintes amayne,
 Ringe owte, Ringe out Ringe out y^e knell of Turberville whom crewell
 death hath slaine, whom cruell death hath slaine
 Resurrexit a mortuis, there is holy S^t Frauncis, qui olim fuit sepultus,
 non ipse sed magi hic stultus, so toll the bell,
 Ding Donge Ringe out his knell.

Dinge Donge, cease nowe the bell, he loued a pot of stronge ale well.²

Apparently the author of this doggerel had for Turberville small esteem.³

HYDER E. ROLLINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

¹ McKerrow "guesses" that the epigrams which mention Nashe were written "ca. 1593" (Nashe's *Works*, V, 146).

² Cf. E. J. L. Scott's *Index to the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum*, 1904, p. 358. Scott dates the elegy "ca. 1605."

³ I may add that in Harleian MS 49 there is a page (fol. 148^v) blank save for the signature of George Turberville and a couplet in his autograph:

George Turbervyle

A Turbervyle a monster is that loveth not his frend
 Or stoops to foes, or doth forget good turns and so I end.

My attention was called to this autograph by a note in Sir Frederick Madden's interleaved and annotated copy of Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* (p. 370), now in the Harvard College Library. Copies of the autograph couplet and of the elegy were furnished me through the courtesy of the Keeper of MSS in the British Museum.

From the *Sale Catalogue* (p. 25) of J. P. Collier's library, it appears that in an interleaved copy of his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* Collier had inserted a "stanza of 3 lines and signature of George Turberville, upon the title from the folio edition of Sir Thomas More's *Works*."